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we examine the demographic data and view the amount of illness in the society we encounter structures in which adaptation is unsuccessful.

An inescapable conclusion is that Kaska society stands in a precariously balanced condition as far as its comfort and survival are concerned. The population was reduced by at least one-third within the last hundred years. During the period of study, the death rate probably equalled the birth rate, although effective means of birth control are not employed. The Kaska are not a healthy people. All of these facts are indicative of the threat faced by the society in solving the problems of survival. The society itself, however, cannot be held entirely accountable for failure to meet this threat. In the last hundred years the people have encountered many novel problems for which they were not prepared with traditional solutions. Illness, for example, probably increased after the Dease River and Klondike gold rushes. In confronting illness at the close of the nineteenth century, the people lacked even dimensions with which to fortify themselves psychologically against the menace of disease.[9] It would seem that as far as the high death rate and extensive morbidity are concerned, Kaska society is suffering the effects of culture contact. White diseases have taken their toll of the native population not only because the people were less resistant to disease (although their resistance leaves something to be desired), but also because once these diseases were introduced, the Indians did not receive the same medical protection which reduces mortality in the white society.[10]

So far we have concerned the society from failing to preserve the health and life of its members by pointing out that the strain of adaptation became considerably intensified following white contact. We will now consider some aspects of Indian motivation and behavior which, although ostensibly oriented toward survival, are actually contributing to discomfort and illness. The first of these is nutrition. At least during the winter, a majority of the society appears to suffer from inadequate caloric intake plus vitamin and mineral deficiencies. The consequences are seen in reduced energy and heightened susceptibility to disease. Malnutrition extends to children, in whom it may be seriously impairing physical and psychological development. The responsibility for undernourishment cannot be blamed upon a lack of education, since professional advice on food consumption, valuable as it may be, is often all limited to only a fraction of the world, nor can it be ascribed solely to acculturation. The causes for malnutrition appear to lie in the attitudes of the Kaska themselves as well as in conditions of acculturation. To dispose of the second point first, it seems likely that foreign penetration of the area within the last two years (including the building of the Highway, airports, and the noise of aircraft) have resulted in a severe dislocation of game.[11] Such disturbances probably also followed influxes of gold seekers into the country and must be regarded as temporary. Currently, however, they appear responsible for the dearth of most

[9] Honigmann, Witch Fear in Post-Contact Kaska Society (1968), 168.

[10] Hildebrand, Tribal Epidemics in the Yukon (1949), cited in Honigmann, Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave (1948), 48.

[11] Williams points out that "the noise of road building, including use of machinery and blasting, has obviously driven away the fish from the Highway. With the quieter conditions of post-construction days, wild animals will doubtless return. . . ." Williams, Geological Investigations Along the Alaska Highway from Fort Nelson, British Columbia, to Watson Lake, Yukon (1948), 5.

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§33 began. Most girls begin when they are fifteen or younger, and boys when they approach seventeen. Situations prohibiting intercourse are not consistently recognized. A number of §34 youths say that they would not have intercourse with a girl who is menstruating; they will, §39 however, permit a girl in this condition to masturbate them. Other boys deny such in- §42 hibitions or else unlike a condom with a menstruant. Men are generally reluctant to have intercourse with a girl who is feared to be venereally diseased, but will do so if condoms are available. "French safes," as condoms are locally designated, were largely secured from soldiers and construction workers during Highway construction but are now sold by one of the independent traders who secures them through truck drivers hauling from Dawson Creek. Coitus is not avoided before a hunting trip; in fact a man who expects to be away hunting for some time may make a point of securing intercourse before leaving.

§53 When intoxicated, most of the younger men are keenly interested in describing their sexual prowess. They recount such feats as attaining several orgasms or copulating with three and four different girls in a single night. Sexual capacity is also spoken of as the ability to "wear out" a girl. One story is told of three boys who exhausted a girl by having intercourse with her twice each. Boys will reveal the names of their sexual partners only to close friends, and even this is rare unless a youth is intoxicated. From observation it is apparent that much of this conversation tends to exaggerate the frequency of coitus. It is probable that in summer an unmarried man has intercourse about once in seven or ten days. Since there are fewer unmarried girls available for this purpose, the frequency of coitus is considerably greater for this sex, averaging perhaps three or four times a week in summer for promiscuous young women. Along with the high value invested in sexual capacity, goes a [§31] concern for the size of the penis, a large organ being regarded as desirable and commendable.

§33 That the male's interest in sexual capacity and genital size may point to a fear of im- §47 potence is indicated by material collected from and about one thirty-two year old man. He was reported to suffer from acute impotence on two occasions. In an interview with the ethnographer, he once denied that virility declines with age, affirming that some old men are "stronger for girls" than young men. In a dream reported before specific reports of his incapacity had been obtained, he told of being in the company of his brother when he was attacked by a grizzly bear. "My gun stick. I get nervous. I try to take shot at him, My gun got no power. Goes BBBB —goes out quick . . . I take all shells and put new shells in. He run around. He don't bite me. I get mad at grizzly bear. I holler at him: 'You better get away or I hit you with .hat gun.'" The informant tended to deny the interpretation equating the gun with the penis and the dream's situation with sexual incapacity. The rejection was inconclusive, however, the man saying that to kill a dangerous animal in a dream was a promise of effectively combating illness. "You kill him, that's lucky. You're safe . . . you're not going to die. Gun is great thing when you're dreaming."

§33 Active impotence under the influence of alcohol was denied by several informants, who reported an aphrodisiacal effect from liquor and brew.

§36 Ideally, premarital sexual intercourse is disapproved of, particularly for girls. Parents, when they venture to speak of the matter, warn girls to avoid sexual relations before marriage, citing the dangers of illegitimacy and venereal infection. Such behavior may also be criticized, scolded, or otherwise punished. One girl, thirteen, who was showing a tendency

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lected. Before her marriage, Paulette Donnelly is reported to have told her father: "I want to be like boy. I want to rustle, make little money." She didn't want children, feeling they were too much trouble, and inquired for contraceptive information. The spontaneous exclamation of Paulette, "I'm just as good as man!" when she one day killed a porcupine with an ax, is further evidence of the same trend. Another of Old Man's daughters was on her deathbed when she said to her father: "Don't try to save me. I'm no good to you. I can't break trail, I can't hunt, I'm only a girl."[38] In conversation women often speak rather boastfully of their exploits when hunting big game. Several women were reported to have attempted to induce sterility by magical means.[39]

To sum up the pertinent data reflecting the status of women, it can be said that the society enables the feminine sex to develop a considerable degree of independence and that such freedom is welcomed. The behavior of masculine striving is additional evidence of the woman's search for sexual equality. On the other hand, men's attitudes toward women and the marital relationship give women little opportunity to express independence, and force them to take a subsidiary role which is somewhat inferior to that patterned for men.

Old Age[40]

The Kaska define old age primarily by its biological correlates. Physically, as Old Man pointed out, "When people get old they get stiff and cramp everywhere. When they turn around, everything sore." General weakness and debility affect the body. Eyesight and hearing become impaired. As a man ages his hunting ability is one of the first things to decline. Stamina is drained off, "just like electricity." Louis Mann observed that when he was young he would go anywhere for moose. He kept on the move all the time, traveling all hours of the night. But now, at the age of thirty-seven, he is beginning to feel incapable of such exertion. The day after having indulged in this strenuous activity he wakes feeling unrefreshed and unrested. "You open your eye, feel you get up. No. Go back to sleep again. Old do that." Old age is also stated to be a time when very early experiences of an individual often vividly return to memory—"just like reading book."

Ideally old age is regarded as a period of wisdom derived from abundant experience. Old people are sometimes thought to possess strong supernatural power which has enabled them to hold on to life. Such idealization of age, however, is no obstacle to characterizing a clumsy or inept performance by assuming the actor as "like old man." In carrying old clothes, blankets, and other objects from the cabin which was to be occupied by the ethnographer, several girls began to chant: "Moths blanket," "Moths coat," and so on, for each heavy article which they brought out. The reference was to a partially senile old woman of

[38] Masculine striving was rewarded in aboriginal Kaska society at the expense of a woman's sexual satisfaction. A young girl, protected against conception by magical means, was brought up in the clothing and role of a boy, being trained to do a man's work. Her hunting ability was regarded as tied up with virginity, and she was expected to defend herself strongly against seducers. Slightly different patterns for assertive women to adopt men's roles (without, however, denying themselves sexual satisfaction) have been reported from Plains and other American Indian tribes. For a review of the literature see Steward, *Basin and the Social Order* (1938), 239-251.

[39] For details of such techniques see below, pp. 250-252.

[40] The collection of data for this section was considerably influenced by reference to the field in Simmons' *A Prospectus for Field-Research in the Position and Treatment of the Aged in Primitive and Other Societies* (1945).

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chewing did not take place, a person would soon die from the effects of bad blood entering through his body. The manner in which the blood and stomach interact with each other was not clear to the informants, who emphasized that blood could not enter the stomach or circulate without endangering life.

The sexual impulse in the male is believed to originate in the genitals, whose necessary and sexual functions are closely under the influence of the kidneys. The kidneys stimulate sexual desire when they become "too rich." The testicles are responsible for erection, and their excesses also create sexual desire to diminish or disappear. In a woman, the uterus arouses desire, while a stimulation of the clitoris increases the tension and, to capacious, leads to orgasm. In coitus each partner produces equivalent secretions. In the male the semen originates in the kidneys, the origin of the vaginal secretion is not known. These secretions are regarded as akin to blood, intercourse therefore resulting in a mixture of bloods.

The Kaka have no theory to explain menstruation, little discussing the question by referring to the process as "God business." He added his own version of a common attitude toward the menstruant: "We good for men . . . keep away from it that kind" and expressed the belief that intercourse with a menstruating woman tended to promote quick conception. No evidence of menstrual pain or discomfort could be obtained. As we have evidence of girls being periodically subjected, it might seem that dysmenorrhea is not common. Amenorrhea is reported to have followed miscarriage in Late Prince. In some women menstruation is associated with headaches, abdominal and back pains, and general despondency.

Coitus, as was pointed out, leads to an overcharge of the blood of the sexual partners, the man receiving some of the woman's blood and the woman some of the man's. Conception, apart from spiritual intervention, is a result of the amalgamation of the bloods in the uterus, while in pregnancy the uterus, which has "caught" the male semen, begins to grow, surrounding the embryo with water. Apparently subsequent coitus of the woman may influence the embryo's development. This is suggested by the statement that if a woman, who has conceived, is unfaithful to her husband, the resulting mixture of two men's blood may result in damage to the forming organism. A child thus influenced in its embryonic development will be born "mean," that is, with an aggressive disposition.

Despite the ideal desirability of children, formulae for limiting as well as promoting conception are known. Only one formula for helping a woman to conceive was obtained. This prescribes that eating dried rabbits will promote quick conception. While coitus during menstruation is said to facilitate conception, the practice is not specifically recommended for barrenness. The primary motives for having children include a desire "for company," but are chiefly economic. It is reported that when children grow old enough to hunt and make it homework they will become economic assets making it possible for parents to retire from many routine tasks.

Mary Wiley and Prudence Donnelly stated that they did not want children. Another girl, Liza Prince, following a miscarriage decided that she did not again want to conceive and sought to induce sterility by piercing the abortions fetus with porcupine quills. This method of sterilization is said to be restricted to the Nikken Indians. When Mary Wiley sought to prevent conception, she followed an Upper Liard Indian custom.

6. For a new kind of manual intervention was had. So human help, like the energy and system, and human ownership. Very much of it was also had. It evolved has and make use of a cross fingerprint. a mobile weight was born and has ownership for the health, system, and.

9. a skilled-eight or even elderly man make human intervene more quickly and easily than many young men. It means here was because they were considered to be servers and dependent to form more creation, and more feelings of needs.

6. Unlike the systems used by most laboratories of Bolton Wanderers, recognition could only take place from one man, the most of the one owner combining or making part together to 'engineering the female. Therefore a child could have had a single father.

Improve Relations to Boys. We do work wither known more involved during work recording period of maintenance. In these times a human had to live again from the people to a doctor or small lodge entered mostly for the purpose. To shops and servants these lodges were like other lodges of the cities. This proved to be going rapidly out of vogue. If the human services to a member of the human lodge is to generally remembered sufficient condition.

A human on this role must not single sick man

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[illegible] the wife was weak and unformalized. When a band through marriage secured members of another dialect division (i.e., tribe) the affinal kinship ties were apt to be riddled by considerable distrust. Even today relations between dialect groups are apt to be strained although considerable marriage ties have taken place between them. Thus on its periphery the band was extremely unstable and possessed few mechanisms for connecting relationships with other bands. Because such units only were distant blood and affinal kinship ties ignored, and here the emotional factor needed to reinforce kinship ties in a society where interpersonal relations are not strictly formalized was even more minimal. Certain interpersonal hostility was congruent to and almost inevitable in such a social structure wherein the individual loyalty felt he could depend on entirely but himself and in which internal rapidly accorded beyond the nuclear family. Obviously, therefore, relatives and neighbors often failed to inspire confidence or security and numerous possibilities for suspicion of malevolence were available. In the absence of any organized authority such antagonisms were primarily subject to individual control in accordance with the ideals of the society.

This analysis has not yet directly explained one important feature of Kaska witchcraft. Why was suspicion of witchcraft so often directed against children? In part the answer may lie in the fact that adults often circumvented accusations by placing the blame for alleged bewitchment on defenseless children. A psychological explanation underlying such behavior can be found in the fact that the Kaska's inability to interpersonal relations and the constant deliberations pertaining familiar adult relations made it undesirable to arouse direct hostility.* Children, therefore, were safe targets for accusations. Finally we must look to the society's attitudes toward children. The inhibition of demonstrative affection to children has already been pointed out and would seem to point to ambivalence as regards children. An interpretation of conflicting attitudes toward offspring is strengthened by the evidence that some women do not want children and this is related to expressions of masculine envy to some female members of the contemporary society. There are more socially patterned techniques for inducing sterility and contraception than there are means of promoting fecundity. It becomes conceivable, therefore, that a woman who was emotionally ambivalent and unconsciously ambivalent to her attitude toward children could centre in the person of her own or a relative's child. Emotional rejection, it must be pointed out, is not correlated with conscious hostility toward children and of course not all parents demonstrated hostility to children. Many greatly feared the hysterical outbreaks of witchfear and witch-hunting and sought to protect their families by removing them from the area.

* Evidently the fatal fear of childhood among the Slavic is associated with only a slight incidence of overt interpersonal aggression. (Goldschmidt, 1959, p. 61)